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Of Siouan Origin. As will be seen from a consideration of the accounts and conclusions set forth hereinafter, the Mandans are regarded by the authorities upon this subject as belonging to the great Siouan family, of which the Dakotas are the head and substantial body. It is believed that a close analysis of the foundations for this conclusion will reveal two main sources thereof, i. e., their locality in the territory generally accredited to the Dakotas, and the analogies supposed to exist between their language and that of the Dakotas.

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Upon this latter phase it has seemed to the writer that the assumption that those analogies exist to an extent which raises a fair presumption of identity between the Mandans and the Dakota tribes, is not borne out by the evidences at hand. If any one familiar with the languages involved has gone into a study to demonstrate that from a comparison of words or roots entering into the language of the Mandans and of the Dakotas or Sioux, respectively, there are found to be sufficient points of resemblance to bear out the claim of identity, such effort has not come to the attention of the writer. Maximilian assembled in a table sets of words of the Mandans, Aricaras and Sioux, of supposed similar meanings, of which he gained knowledge while among those various tribes, but it is far from clear that a comparison of those words indicates common lingual origin between the Mandans and Dakotas.

We are unable to quote upon this question any authorities among the people who have been in contact with both the Mandans and the Sioux so as to have become masters of both languages. There are several persons, however, who, having more or less special knowledge of one or the other of them, and who, at the same time have been to some extent in contact with that one of the tribes in question whose language they have not mastered, have expressed their views upon this question of common origin or otherwise. Doane Robinson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of South Dakota, and who met and conversed with Simon J. Kirk, an educated Sioux Indian connected with the Indian school service on the Standing Rock reservation, and who for nearly a year was in contact with the Mandans, thus speaks of his (Kirk's) views upon this question:

"Simon Kirk. Little Eagle, South Dakota, is a full blooded Sisseton, reared with his people and perfectly conversant with

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the Santee and other dialects of the Sioux language. He is educated, a graduate of the Santee Normal Institute of Santee, Nebraska, and has long been in the federal classified service as a teacher among the Indians, and was for a year a teacher among the Mandans. In an interview at Little Eagle on July 8th, 1908, he said:

'I made a careful study of the Mandan language and learned to speak it fluently, and I failed to find anything in it to justify the belief that it originated from the Siouan tongue. There is nothing in the language, or in the history or traditions of the Mandans, to justify the theory exploited by the ethnologists that the Mandans are of Siouan stock. They are utterly foreign to the Sioux in language, blood, customs and traditions.' "

Upon this subject Mr. Kirk replied to a letter of inquiry to the writer as follows:

"I will say that as far as I know personally I don't believe the Mandans are Siouan. Their language is entirely different from the Sioux language. I think it is very easy to learn and talk the Gros Ventre and Ree language, but I never heard or knew a Sioux Indian could talk the Mandan language."

On the other hand, Rev. R. D. Hall, now stationed at the Rosebud Indian Mission in South Dakota, where he has been for about one year, and who is a son of Rev. C. L. Hall, of Elbowoods, N. D., the headquarters of the Fort Berthold Indian Agency and of the Mandan Indians, has kindly and very intelligently responded upon a different trend of thought to a similar inquiry put to him by the writer in August, 1908, upon this subject. This gentleman has, we believe, been among the Mandans during practically his whole life until he came to the Sioux country in this state, since his father has been in constant contact with the Mandans as a missionary for something over thirty years. He states his present views, which as will be seen are but tentative and subject to more mature consideration and study of the Sioux language, as follows:

"The subjects on which you touch in your letter are of much interest to me, as one of the first things I noticed as I began studying the Sioux of this reserve—which is about like all the Sioux language, was the similarity of words in so many cases. I am planning at a later date to tabulate these, but as yet have not had time. I have three theories, or lines, along which this similarity may have come. I hope to work this out later on when I can

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speak the Sioux well enough to get into the history of both people intelligently, according to their traditions.

"My first thought is that the Mandans and Sioux were once a common tribe, or branches of a tribe, but some rupture separated them into two bands whose dialects changed as decades passed. These changes can be seen in the different Sioux tribes now--they even have different words now for some things.

"My second thought is that the Mandan and Sioux were tribes that for a period were on intimate terms, but not related by blood, and that the stronger language 'infected' the Mandan.

"My third thought is that the Mandans were once a Sioux tribe like the Tetons, Santees, Yanktons, etc., but through isolation for years—maybe centuries—became more widely differentiated.

"The similarity of the languages is striking to me, first as to similarity of words, the pronouncing of syllables, facial expression accompanying the words, etc.

"The order of my theories is my present preference."

The italics in the above quotations are those of Rev. Hall himself.

It will be seen that years of constant contact with and study of the Mandans, and a comparatively brief period of residence among and study of the Sioux, have left this gentleman with a decided inclination to believe the two tribes to have been at some time in the past members of the same racial family or group of tribes, and that but one of his three immature theories supposes them to have been originally strangers in blood; but that he is not yet satisfied to settle down upon any definite conclusion upon the subject.

We will leave this particular phase of the general subject, after quoting Dr. W. H. Holmes, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, wherein he remarks, in connection with the subject of the Welsh language as possibly involved in the alleged existence of Welsh-speaking Indians and as compared to the language of the American Indians: "It is difficult to find any two languages, howsoever distinct in their origin, that do not contain remarkable correspondences. This must be allowed for in considering the presence of Welsh and other words in the Indian tongue." That eminent authority does not credit the idea of Indians of Welsh extraction. But his observation above quoted

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concerning correspondence between languages, however distinct in origin, if applied to the Mandan and Sioux languages, would seem to tend strongly to suggest caution as to their identity, judging upon the facts set forth in the foregoing quotations from Rev. R. D. Hall.

Peaceably Inclined. The Mandans are unquestionably and justly regarded by substantially all the whites who have been among them from the earliest period of their discovery to have been peaceably inclined, in a sense which distinguished them from most of the warlike tribes who surrounded them on the upper Missouri. Yet they possessed high qualities of valor and actual prowess at arms when invasion of their rights led them to war, in some of which contests they without hesitation took the offensive and proved their ability to cope with their enemies under circumstances placing them at a disadvantage. They also maintained exceptionally friendly relations with the whites.

Highly Civilized. Their habitations in strongly entrenched and palisaded "forts," as they were called by the whites; the indubitable proofs of their having been agriculturalists in an eminent degree; their relatively polished and kindly mannerisms and unstinted hospitality, and their skill as artisans in fashioning pottery and other utensils adequate to their needs as families and communities—all seem to argue conclusively an exceptionally high state of civilization and such as marks them as being in a substantial degree apart from all other Indian tribes of the northwest. There are phases of their religious ceremonies which, coupled with some of their legends, lend strong support to the theory of the high character of their civilization and, taken in connection with all their other attributes, including physiognomy, are undeniably persuasive towards the conclusion that they have white blood in their veins and which must have existed for centuries.

The writer will not descend to a detailed description of the individual lodge, or hut, of the Mandans. It would be useless as mere repetition in substance of the various pen pictures given of them by a number of the early observers whose accounts are set forth hereinafter, and to which the reader or the student is referred. Suffice it to remark here that a substantial error has gone into prominent Indian literature upon the subject of the characteristics of such lodges, in Catlin's account and through

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We were told never to forget these women, and we make these gifts to them so that they will say a kind word for us.' Their oath is made by the moon or sun. After death they believe they go to the east, and claim that a man killed in battle is better treated, better liked, in the hereafter than one who dies of disease. They cling tenaciously to their old beliefs, customs and habits, and though they have adopted some of the manners of the Sioux and their own allies, the Arickarees and Gros Ventres, they are bitterly opposed to the ways of the whites.

Language Different from Sioux. In speaking of their language Mr. Mitchell says: 'I always contended that Mr. Gallatin was in error in supposing the Mandans and Sioux descended from the same stock. Mr. Kipp, who has been well acquainted with both tribes for upward of thirty years, and speaks both languages with great fluency and correctness, fully concurs with me in opinion. There are a few words that are somewhat similar in sound, but this Mr. Kipp accounts for by the fact of the Sioux and Mandans having been neighbors from time immemorable, and during intervals of peace visiting and intermarrying with each other.' Many of them now speak the Sioux language, and though I consider their vocal language as distinct and different from all others, still high authorities at present class it with the Sioux; that is, being with the same stock." (P. 242.)

From the "Collections of the American Antiquarian Society," Vol. II (Cambridge, 1836), we quote the following concerning the Mandans, in which they are spoken of as one of three tribes of the Minnetarees. What is said therein concerning the chief Big White and the Welsh theory will receive consideration later on.

"The Minetares (Minetaree and Minetaries) consist of three tribes, speaking three different languages which belong to a common stock. Its affinities with the Dahcota are but remote, but have appeared sufficient to entitle them to be considered as of the same family.

"Two of those tribes, the Mandans, whose numbers do not exceed fifteen hundred, and the stationary Minetaries, amounting to three thousand souls, including those called Annahwas, cultivate the soil and live in villages situated on or near the Missouri, between the forty-seventh and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude. They are kept in a state of perpetual alarm by the Assiniboines, the Tetons, the Rapid Indians and other erratic

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tribes, and have on that account often been obliged to change the seat of their villages.

"Yet they have often been quarreling with the Ricaras, who like them are agricultural people; and they often make predatory expeditions against the Shoshones, in the eastern valleys of the Rocky mountains. Both the Mandans and the Minnetaries consider themselves as natives of that part of the country.

"The tradition of the Mandans is that they came from under ground by means of a great vine, which, breaking under the weight of some of them, has left behind a part of their nation, whom they expect to join after death. The color of the chief who visited Washington appeared less dark than that of our Indians, and he was the only full-breed Indian ever seen by me, whose eyes were of a bluish cast. It is believed that this is the tribe, often spoken of as White Indians, and which gave rise to the fabulous account of a tribe descended from the Welsh and speaking their language, a tale which the knowledge we have now acquired of the various Indian nations and of their dialects has set at rest.

"The vocabulary of the stationary Minetaries and the specimen of the Crow of Upsaroka dialect were obtained by Dr. Say. We knew from Lewis and Clarke that the Mandans spoke a kindred dialect, and this has been confirmed by the significant names of their chiefs, subscribed to a treaty with the United States. Lewis and Clarke appear to have considered the Rapid, Fall or Paunch Indians, sometimes also called the "Minetaries of the Prairies," as belonging to the same family. But all the subsequent accounts agree in assigning to them an entirely distinct language." (P. 125.)

The above reference to the "chief who visited Washington" (Big White) is from Albert Gallatin.

We will here refer to the note by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson on the Mandans, found among his notes on "Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," by Dr. William M. Blackburn, in Hist. Coll., S. D., Vol. I, page 98, being a very concise and creditable summary of the tribe. In that note Dr. Robinson affirms that "their traditions give their former abode as being about the headwaters of Lake Winnipeg. It is probable that they were driven from their homes at Lake Winnipeg about 1680 by the Crees and Assiniboines, both powerful tribes which about this period came into possession of firearms. Their first stopping place, after being driven out by their enemies, was on the Mis-

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they speak different languages; and it is necessary they should, for their villages are not more than six miles apart. The Mandans speak the same tongue of the Osage, but have a different accent, and dialect. They were once a numerous, war-like people, but have been reduced by the smallpox, and by their enemies, the Sioux, to less than four hundred warriors." (Pages 180 to 183 LeRaye's journal.)

After having tarried eight days with the Mandans, LeRaye and his Indian escorts left there, arriving on the 13th July, 1802, at the Gros Ventre village "on the lower side of the Batteau (Knife) river," called the Meniture village. Another village, called Meni-tar-u-miti-ha-tah, is situated on the upper side of the Batteau river. These villages are larger than the Mandans, built in the same manner, and containing about 600 warriors, and about 2500 inhabitants. They were formerly more numerous, but the smallpox has made its ravages among them. These people deposit their dead in the same manner as the Mandans, but at a greater distance from their villages."

Marriage Ceremony. Here LeRaye gives interesting particulars of an Indian marriage ceremony at the last mentioned village: "Proclamation was made, by one of the relations, that on the next day, in the morning, the marriage would be celebrated." The next morning "The company assembled at her father's lodge, where the chief of the village attended. He informed the company, that the young man, calling him by name, intended to take the girl, calling her by name, to be his wife. He then asked each of them if that were their intention, which each of them answered in the affirmative. The chief then handed them a small rod, which was broken between them. The groom then broke his part into a number of small pieces, and handed them to the men who stood near to him. The bride did the same with her part of the rod, which consummated the marriage. Fire was then brought, and the sacred pipe was lighted. After all the men had smoked in it, the dance commenced, which was continued for several hours." Down to the point of smoking, the foregoing seems to have been strikingly similar to the usual civilized marriage ceremony of those times.

Rocky Mountain Hunt. After a feast on July 2nd, 1802, the Indians, still holding LeRaye, and accompanied by Pardo, set out on the fall hunt to the Yellowstone and the Rocky mountains;

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clination to coalesce. The Mandan and Gros Ventre (or Minnetaree) languages are somewhat alike, and probably of a very distinct common origin; but no resemblance has yet been discovered between either of these and the Aricaree ('Ricaras'). Almost every member of each trib understands the languages of the other tribes, yet he speaks his own most fluently; so it is not an uncommon thing to hear a dialogue carried on in two languages, one person, for instance, questioning in Mandan, and the other answering back in Gros Ventre, and vice versa.

"Many of them understand the Dakota tongue, and use it as a means of intercommunication, and all understand the sign language. So, after all, they have no trouble in making themselves understood by one another. These Indians must have excellent memories and 'good capacity for study;' for it is not uncommon to find persons among them, some even under twenty years of age, who can speak fluently four or five different languages." (p. 17-18.)

As showing the aptness of the Rees and Mandans in working in glass or absidian, Matthews says:

Glass-Work—Beads. "The articles of glass spoken of above are chiefly of two kinds. First, large, globular, or ellipsoidal beads; and, second, flat, irregularly triangular plates or pendants, which are glazed only on one side, and have a hole at the apex. The art of making these deserves more than a mere mention, since it is commonly believed that the aboriginal Americans, even the more civilized races, knew nothing of the manufacture of glass at the time of the Columbian discovery. The very earliest ethnographical account we have of the Aricarees and Mandans shows that they knew how to make glass beads; and there is no doubt that the process employed in 1804 was essentially the same as that employed today." (Here follows the account given by Lewis and Clarke, already set forth herein and quoted by Matthews; after which he resumes:)

Not Glass Product. "This art is now only occasionally practiced in the village, and is mostly confined to the making of the flat triangular pendants. I have heard the process described in much the same way as in the above quotation. From this quotation, however, which is in part ambiguous, the inference might be drawn that the ornaments, when completed consist entirely of

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or Mandan, and more difficult to distinguish it from the latter than from the former of these two. The tones of these four languages belonging to the Dakota group are somewhat alike; so much alike that a person possessing but limited acquaintance with them might mistake one for another, hearing it at a distance as I have described. But the contrast in tone between these tongues and the neighboring, but alien, Aricaree is well marked, and any quick-eared person might learn at once to distinguish it from them."

Matthews declares that the tendency to coalescence in the languages of the tribes confederated at Ft. Berthold has been slight since they were known to the whites. He says:

Changes in Course of Time. Coalescence Slight. "I have said that the three languages spoken in the village at Fort Berthold show no perceptible inclination to coalesce (Ethnography, Sec. 13.) I have said this, well knowing that the statement was somewhat at variance with the opinions of earlier observers. The few Mandan and Minnetaree words given by Lewis and Clarke in proper names show, as far as they go, that the languages have not materially changed since 1804. There are now, and doubtless there were in 1804, many points of correspondence between the Mandan and Hidatsa languages; but there are none which may not be more easily explained by supposing the two languages to have sprung from a common source than by supposing them to have been reciprocally changed by contact. I never could discover that the Hidatsa and Mandan spoken by the rising generation resembled one another more than did those languages spoken by the old men. I do not claim that the long and intimate intercourse which has existed between these two tribes has produced no approximation or coalescence of their languages. It is but reasonable to suppose that the contrary is the case; but I could never get an Indian to point out to me, nor could I ever otherwise discover, a satisfactory instance of such coalescence." (p. 84-85.)

He further claims that the Mandan and Aricaree languages are totally different:

Mandan and Ree Languages—No Resemblance. "Throughout the past hundred years, the Mandans have had as much intercourse with the Aricarees as with the Minnetarees; yet I never

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ould trace any resemblance between the modern Mandan and 197
Aricaree tongues. As far as I have observed them, there is not
single word alike in both. It is not likely that intercourse has
roduced a noteworthy approximation of languages in one case
nd none whatever in the other. There is no doubt that the
Hidatsa language has changed in the course of time; but the
hange has resulted chiefly from causes other than the influence
f the Mandan tongue. Some of the old men occasionally con-
erse among themselves in terms which younger members of the
ribe do not understand, and, when asked what they mean, they
ay they are trying to speak the old language." (p. 84.)

Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, D. D., LL. D., who was for so long a 114
nissionary of the Congregational church among the Dakota and
ther Indians, and who is author of the "Dakota Grammar and
Dictionary" and "Gospel Among the Dakotas," has, in his book
entitled "Mary and I. Forty Years With the Sioux" (W. C.
Holmes, Chicago, 1880), given some account of the Mandans,
whom he visited at Fort Berthold in 1874. We quote from said
work, pages 271, et seq., the following:

Riggs' Observations On Mandans. "Here (at Fort Berthold, 161
N. D.) were gathered the remnant of the Mandans, only a few 197
hundred persons, and the Rees, or Aricarees, a part of the Pawnee 191
tribe, and the Gros Ventres, or Minnetaree, properly the Hidatsa.
Altogether they numbered about two thousand souls. We had
before this entertained the desire that we might be able to es-
tablish a mission among these people, and this thought or hope
gave interest to my visit. The Mandan and the Hidatsa languages
were both pretty closely connected with the Dakota; but what
seemed to bring these nearer to us was the fact that many of all
these people could understand and talk the Dakota, that forming
a kind of common language for them.

"**Howard Mandan**, or 'The-man-with-a-sacred-face,' as his In- 000
dian name is interpreted, was the son of **Red Cow**, the principal
chief of the Mandans, and had been taken down by Gen. C. H.
Howard, a year before, and placed in A. L. Riggs' school at
Santee. Howard had returned home before my visit, and also
Henry Eaton, a Hidatsa young man, who had been east a good
many years and talked English well.

"George Catlin had, many years ago, interested us in the Man-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

(2) Nup'tadi (no meaning); (3) Ma'nana'rE ("Those Who Quarreled"); (4) Awi'-ka-xa (no meaning); and (5) Nu'itadi ("Our People").

While living in the Heart River region, dialectic differences also existed between bands. Three major dialectic groups existed then, according to Crows Heart and Scattercorn: Nuptadi, Nuitadi, and Awigaxa. The latter group was small and was assimilated into the Nuitadi after the first smallpox epidemic. Linguistic differences between the Nuptadi and Nuitadi were recognized by Maximilian, who prepared a partial list of Mandan words of the two dialects.[1] These differences are still recognized by Mandan informants. The Nuitadi was the largest linguistic group and comprised the Nuitadi proper, the Is'topa, and the Ma'nana'rE. The latter two bands separated from the Nuptadi proper for economic reasons when the village population became too large for the further exploitation of the corn grounds.

In historic times and before coming to Fort Clark, according to Crows Heart, the Istopa and MananarE had separate villages. In addition, there were several villages of Nuitadi. The Istopa were believed to occupy the territory north of the Heart River and had as their nearest neighbors the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa, who moved there from below the Cannonball River. Their principal village was at the Motsiff site. Crows Heart's grandmother was of the Istopa band, and she was born in their village near the present town of Sanger, North Dakota.

The Mandan have been a relatively small tribe since the first smallpox epidemic which reached them before leaving the Heart River villages. Lewis and Clark reported ruins of their villages in that region in 1804, and the natives informed him that in their time nine villages were occupied simultaneously. The east-side villages united into one village and moved northward, while the west-side group united first into two villages and later into one village and moved northward along the west bank of the Missouri and settled at Fort Clark Village.

There is some inconsistency in the Mandan migration myths,

1. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XXIV, 259.

3: Will and Spind[illegible] (1905) 1906
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SECTION III.

LANGUAGE.

197 The language of the Mandans is unquestionably of the Siouan stock, but does not appear to show very much closer affiliation with one than with another branch of that stock. The Hidatsa is perhaps nearest to the Mandan but even that differs materially both in vocabulary and grammatical construction. It has been said that the Winnebago resembles most closely the Mandan, but from a careful comparison with vocabularies containing over one hundred equivalents from some six or seven Siouan dialects it appears that this resemblance is not as great as that between the Winnebago and the Iowa.

197 191 The Mandans were excellent linguists and we are told by early travellers that they were accustomed to learn the languages of nearly all their neighbors, while very few of the other tribes ever learned Mandan. Such a condition was apt to bring about considerable change in the language, and very likely it did so. Maximilian was told by the old men that in their youth the Mandan and Hidatsa resembled each other much less than they did in 1834. The songs of the Okeepa and society dances were in an older language which no one but the medicine men and those whom they taught understood. And lastly at this time the Mandans in the two villages spoke different dialects. The ones on the south side of the river, who thus had more intercourse with the Hidatsa, spoke a dialect resembling that language more closely than did the dialect in the northern village. Words in the south village became shortened to resemble the more abrupt speech of the Hidatsa, and sound changes, notably that of *d* for *n*, crept in from the latter.

114 Information upon the Mandan language is exceedingly scarce and no very accurate or full grammatical sketch exists. Small vocabularies are found in many places, but these have

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I. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Iowa	Catawba
I	miona	miki	bi	miye	mese	diyi
thou	niona	diki	di	niye	dese	yiye
he	iona	iki	i	iye	aese	owa
we	nuona	midoki	birud	unkiye-pi	hese	hiha
you	niaona	didoki	dirud	niye-pi	dewe	wiwa
they	iaona	hidoki	irud	iye-pi	aese	owa

II. SUBJECTIVE INCORPORATED PRONOUNS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Iowa	Omaha	Winnebago	Catawba
I	wa-	ma-	b-	wa-	ha-	wi-	ne-	di- de- or mi-
thou	θa or da-	da-	d-	ya-	ra-	thi-	neninenu	yi- or ye-
he	i-	—	i-	—	ae-	e-	e-	owa- or oa-
we (dual)	nunompca-	—	—	uⁿ	—	—	—	napri
we	nu-	ma-	bu-	un-pi	he-	ungu-	newankerina-	hi- or ha-
you	niaθa-	da-	du-	ya-pi	de	thi-	—	wi-
they	ia-	—	i-	-pi	ae-	e-	—	oa-

III. CONJUGATION OF TO EAT.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Winnebago
Root	rut	dut	duc	yut	rut
I eat	wawarutoc	muti (ts)	babuce	mata	wahatcona
thou eatest	θawarutoc	duti (ts)	baduce	yata	waratcona
he eats	ihwarutoc	duti (ts)	ibaduce	yuta	ewarutcona
we eat	nuwarutoc	muti (ts)	———	uⁿtapi	hewarutcuwinu
you eat	niawarutoc	duti (ts)	———	yatapi	anatcwaratciwize
they eat	iawarutoc	duti (ts)	———	yutapi	anatcwaratcide

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3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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IV. POSSESSIVE PREFIXED FORMS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Iowa	Winnebago	Catawba
my	mi-	ma-	ba-	mi- or ma-	he-	nianinu	di-
thy	ni-	di-	da-	ni-	de-	zeku	yi-
his	i- or iko-	i-	i-	—	e-	—	oa-
ours	nu-	ma-	—	u^{n}-pi	he-	nianiwida	dowa-
yours	nia-	di-	—	ni-pi	de-	acinina	—
theirs	iona-	i-	—	—	e-	ianideda	owa-

V. NUMERALS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Omaha	Winnebago	Osage	Catawba
one—	maxana	duetsa	hamat	wantca	wi	izakida	minehi	dube
two—	nompah	dopa	nop	nonpa	wamba	nomp	nomba	no^{n}prere
three—	nameni	dami	nam	yamni	thabathi	tan	laubena	nomnere
four—	tohpa	topa	cop	topa	duba	cop	toba	porprere
five—	kexu	kihu	tsixop	zaptan	satan	satc	satta	poktrere
six—	kima	akama	akamak	cakpe	cape	akewe	cappa	dipkrare
seven—	kuhpa	sapua	xapua	cakowi^{n}	penamba	shagowe	panomba	wassignurere
eight—	tettaka	dopapi	nopape	caxdogan	pethabathi	haniwunk	kelauban	dowesare
nine—	maxpe	duetsapi	amatape	napci^{n}wanka	canka	hizakicanskani	canka	wantcharere
ten—	piraq	pitiki	piraka	wikcemma	y'ethka	kerapunaze	crabra	pitchinere
eleven—	ahga maxana	ahpiduetsa	piraka mata	ake wantca	'ay'thwi	izukida cina	augre minehi	pitchin napere hasare

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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SOCIAL LIFE OF THE MANDAN.

Clan System.

The study of ancient Mandan society is rendered unusually difficult through the almost complete extinction of the tribe. There are probably not more than half a dozen full-blood Mandan living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. Though the census of 1910 sets their number at 197, this is given on the basis of the native way of tracing descent so as to include all those whose mothers only were Mandan or were according to the matrilineal principle of descent reckoned as Mandan. Living for a long period in close contact with the more numerous Hidatsa, with whom intermarriage has taken place to a considerable extent, the younger Mandan so-called hardly ever speak Mandan as fluently or correctly as Hidatsa.[1]

Under these circumstances the question naturally arises over and over again whether a given feature common to Mandan and Hidatsa culture is not an Hidatsa trait shared by the Mandan only since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. This naturally complicates the sufficiently difficult question as to the relative contributions of the two tribes to their common cultural stock. On this subject widely varying views have been held. Thus, Morgan, rather cavalierly assumed that agriculture and the earth-lodge were brought into the region by the Hidatsa and borrowed by the Mandan,[2] while Matthews has expressed the opposite opinion.[3]

Since in culture the Hidatsa differ from the Crow far more than the affinity of the two languages and hence presumable recency of their separation would lead us to expect, it seems natural to refer such divergence as exists to Mandan influence on the Hidatsa. This interpretation would lead to thoroughly satisfactory results if we could be sure that recently collected Mandan data indicating cultural identity with the Hidatsa reflect ancient Mandan conditions. Unfortunately, we are frequently without the means of checking our information on account of the inadequacy of the early accounts.

A point of great importance regarding the Mandan is their local and linguistic differentiation. Whatever may be the fact as to the nine villages they are said to have inhabited about the Heart River confluence in 1750,[4]

[1] It may be noted in this connection that these languages, though both of the Siouan stock, are only remotely related.
[2] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.
[3] Matthews, 27f.
[4] Handbook of American Indians, 1, 797.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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or the thirteen villages with which Maximilian's informants credited them,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century there certainly were two villages, Nū′pta (Ruhptare) and Mį′tutąk (Mihtuttahangkusch), speaking distinct dialects, as is demonstrated by Maximilian's vocabularies.[2] One of my informants added a third village, Istápe, (given by Morgan as a clan name), where she said the Nū′pta dialect was spoken.

It is clear from Maximilian's data that between Nū′pta and Mį′tutąk there was also a minor cultural differentiation in the matter of dances. The question in connection with our immediate problem is how to conceive the relation of the villages to the social divisions. Maximilian tells us that the Mandan called themselves "Nū′mangkā′ke" (*nū′makā′ki*) i. e., people, and were wont to add the name of the village from which they had originally come. Thus, there were Prairie-chicken people, so-called after the Prairie-chicken village; Bear people, Cactus people, Badger people,— all named from corresponding villages.

> Obgleich nun alle die oben genannten Dörfer nicht mehr existiren, so nennen sich dennoch alle diese Indianer ihrer Abstammung zufolge noch nach denselben.[3]

This is a clear-cut statement to the effect that the Mandan clans developed in recent times from formerly distinct local groups. If we assume that the ancient village scheme involved local exogamy and matrilineal descent, or that the latter was grafted on the former, possibly through borrowing, the fusion of people from different settlements would quite naturally lead to the evolution of exogamous clans. The statement of one of my informants that all the clans were found in both Mį′tutąk and Nū′pta is not inconsistent with such a line of development since this condition would be readily brought about by intermarriage. However, all this is pure speculation and the questions involved will only become clearer after considering the social organization of the Mandan as sketched by recent informants and comparing it with that of the Hidatsa and other tribes.

The Mandan were divided into non-exogamous moieties corresponding in name to those of the Hidatsa, viz., Three-clans (nū′makā′ki ō′rehe nā′mini) and Four-clans (nū′makā′ki ō′re tōp). According to Black-chest, the names of the moieties and the constituent clans were originated by the legendary warrior Seven-wolf when returning from a victorious expedition against the Arikara. Information is very meager as to the functions of the dual division in tribal life, but here there is again close correspondence to Hidatsa conditions. During a general council of the Mandan the Three-

[1] Maximilian, II, 103.
[2] *ibid.*, 557–561.
[3] *ibid.*, 104.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

formed this last office, unties the animal and leads it away. If a Mandan or Manitari falls in battle, and the news of his death reaches the family, who are unable to recover the body, a buffalo skin is rolled up and carried to the village. All those who desire to lament the deceased assemble, and many articles of value are distributed among them. The mourners cut off their hair, wound themselves with knives, and make loud lamentations. Joints of the fingers are not cut off here, as among the Blackfeet, as a token of mourning, but as signs of penance and offering to the lord of life and the first man.

The English and French find the pronunciation of the Mandan language extremely difficult; while to a German, or a Dutchman, it is considerably easier, because it contains very many gutturals, like *ach*, *och*, *uch*, in German. The nasal sounds, on the contrary, are few, but they frequently speak in a very indistinct way, having the mouth scarcely opened. The vowels are often softened, and much depends on the way in which the accent falls. The vowels *a* and *u* are often only half pronounced, but occur very frequently. I collected many words, as specimens of the language, and wrote down phrases, and made an attempt to compile a grammar of the Mandan language, but the completion of it was, unfortunately, hindered by unfavourable circumstances. Several old persons assured me that they perfectly remembered that, in their youth, many resemblances between the Mandan and Manitari languages did not then exist, which have since gradually crept in; the two languages being then quite different, which, indeed, they are still, in the main. As nations and allies, however, they have reciprocally adopted many words and expressions, and hence there is a better understanding among them now than heretofore, and their intercourse is greatly facilitated. Time will, undoubtedly, produce a still closer approximation. It is a remarkable fact, and proves how easily the separation of single tribes, and even villages, of one and the same nation, leads to changes in the language, and transitions into other dialects. An example of this kind was presented in the two Mandan villages, where many diversities of language had already taken place. I collected several specimens of this kind, and, to me, it was highly interesting. The Mandans are more apt in learning foreign languages than many other nations. Thus, the majority of them speak the Manitari language, whereas but few of the latter understand the Mandan language. Most of the American nations, at least, those on the Missouri, are said to have no maledictory words or terms of abuse; the Mandans have nothing of the kind but the expression—"bad people." The article is wanting in the Mandan language, and there is no distinction of gender, except in addressing a man or a woman. For my observations on the Mandan language, I am chiefly indebted to the kindness and patience of Mr. Kipp, who had lived eleven years among that people, had married an Indian wife, and had attained a perfect knowledge of the language. The Mandan names always have a signification, and are often equivalent to whole sentences: all surrounding objects are made use of in giving

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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names. I subjoin a few singular specimens: "The bear which is a spirit;" "The bull which is a spirit;" "I hear somebody coming;" "There are seven of them married to old women," &c.

In conclusion I would say that some have affirmed that they have found, in North America, Indians who spoke the Gaelic language; this has been said of the Mandans; but it has long been ascertained that this notion is unfounded, as well as the assertion that the Mandans had a fairer complexion than the other Indians.

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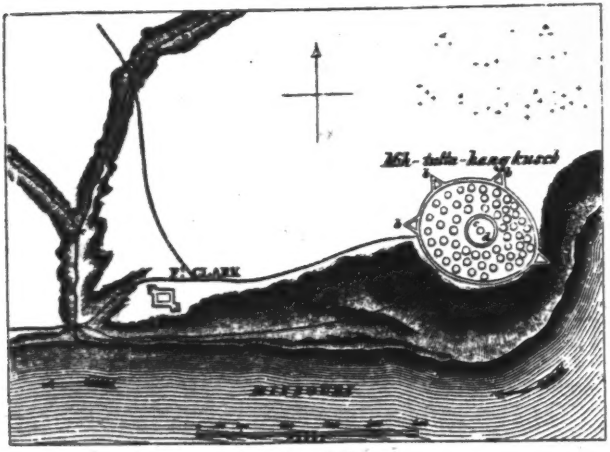

a Scaffolds for the dead, and poles with offerings. Vignette XIV., p. 281. Plate XXV. and p. 369.
b The Mandan village—Mih-tutta-hang-kusch.
c The open space in the centre of the village.
d The ark of the first man, p. 342.
e The stream in which the dishes are washed.